534 horsehair attached to the ends. During the music the player from
[23] time to time rubs the horsehair with a piece of resin from the gum
[314] tree; this serves as rosin. /288/ The amzad skins are often
decorated with painted motifs in very vivid colors, or else they
[532] are covered with tifinagh inscriptions indicating the name of the
owner and bearing love verses for the use of admirers.

Among the Ihaggaren violins are usually large, reaching as
much as 40 centimeters in diameter. In Sudanese tribes, on the
[171] other hand, they are much smaller, rarely exceeding 25 to 30
centimeters.

533 The amzad plays an important role among the Tuareg, who
really make a true cult of it. Young men go to listen to the girls
play it. After they are married, they love to hear their wives, who
533 charm in this way the empty hours of summer evenings. Not play-
626 ing the amzad is a punishment that the women inflict on the men,
593 and during battles warriors always try to be brave lest their wives
or their fiancées deprive them of music. "There will be no amzad,"
they used to say upon returning from an unsuccessful raid. This
prospect was often sufficient to restore their courage and incite
them to go efface their defeat.

882 The ahal. -- At about the age of sixteen, boys and girls have
571 access to adult society and begin to participate in the ahal.
521 The word ahal means "meeting, conversation, interview." A
synonym for it is édéouenné. These musical and literary meetings
have a more or less peculiar nature, depending on whether or not
they are mixed with asri.

517 Asri, literally "to run with the bridle loose," means the practice
521 of some very free mores. To live in a state of asri is to exist under
571 conditions which permit one to practice loose mores. Those who
533 can be in a state of asri are pubescent boys and girls, widowers,
and divorced people of either sex.

These meetings take place near the camps in the shelter of
a wadi, but always out of the sight of old people and respectable
people of the tribe. They usually take place before the evening

174 in the Sudan, the Sanhadja-Nounou, was governed by a woman named Bikoun-Kabi, whom the Sonrhaï /Songhai/ emperor Sonni-Ali had to conquer in order to seize her territory. Es-Sadi, author of the Tarik-es-Soudan, reports several facts of this kind.

The Islamization of the Berber tribes certainly had a part in the elimination of the custom. Women no longer play any official political role in our times. But they have made themselves the [562] guardians of ancestral customs and folklore, and their authority is [626] so strong that one /154/ can only quote the answer of a Tuareg to an Arab who admonished him upon the subject of Tuareg mores: "No one would dare do otherwise, for then no woman would look at us any longer."

162 The persistence of monogamy among the Tuareg is also favored 183 by the considerable excess of men found among them, an exceptinnal 545 fact and contrary to what we observe in other human groups.

The aménokal. -- Aménokal means in Tamashek "possessor of 643 the country" (from am, possessive prefix, and akal, "country"). [192] In the Ahaggar this title is conferred only upon the supreme chief reigning over a whole of noble, vassal, or assimilated tribes. [184] In Sudanese tribes, on the other hand, it may be applied to heads of fractions, indeed even to mere camp chiefs.

The aménokal is designated according to hereditary rules deriving from the matriarchal system. He is always chosen, not only in the same tribe, but in the same line which one could compare to the clan. His domination, to be effective, must be sanctioned by the approval of the nobles to whom are joined for the occasion the chiefs of vassal tribes. For the latter, approval involves an agreement to pay tribute later.

Sometimes there are several pretenders to the title; perhaps a descendant of a formerly ousted family asserts his rights, or perhaps the natural heir is recognized incapable of leadership. This brings about a competition where hereditary rules are not always respected.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with whom they are likely to enter into relations. [751] Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Énad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 564 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 426 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd 454 enough to repay them one day.

The ahal takes place very often. All that is needed is for 533
a group of men and women to be gathered together in a camp. 584
Often a man comes from a considerable distance to court the 832
girl of his choice. When the year is good, that is to say, when [361]
the rains have brought the pastures to life and the camels are
giving much milk, several camps are set up close to each other,
and the ahal begins right after sunset.

The men of the camps gather with those who have come
especially because some woman attracts them. The women
bring their "imz'aden" violins. All those attend the ahal who [602]
are not afraid to be in the presence of one of their relatives
to whom they owe respect, such as a father, uncle, older
brother, etc. Young girls, married women, divorcées or widows,
all attend the ahal.

[361]

Dautheville

Tuareg Troup at Amr'a (Black Tifedest)

Gallantry, "asri" ⵄⵙⵔⵉ , is required, and jealousy [577]
strictly prohibited. Besides, this latter feeling is unknown [626]
among the Tuareg, and if one of them should think of show-
ing it, he would be booed and everyone would make fun of
him.

When a Tuareg arrives at the ahal near a woman whom
he wishes to court, he approaches her with his veil carefully
lowered and does not greet her with the usual "essalamou r'